

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY PARIS

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 04 LONDON 11490

EXDIS HANDLE AS NODIS
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E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PEPR FR US XA
SUBJECT: ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE'S BILATERALS IN PARIS

BEGIN SUMMARY: ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE MET WITH
ELYSEE AFRICAN ADVISOR JOURNIAC FOR GENERAL DISCUSSION
AFRICAN MATTERS JULY 18. JOURNIAC VIEWS ANGOLAN OPENING
TOWARD THE WEST AS MOTIVATED BY DESIRE FOR WESTERN
ECONOMIC HELP AND NOT INDICATING DECLINE SOVIET INFLUENCE
HE AGREED WESTERN COUNTRIES SHOULD TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE
OPPORTUNITY STRENGTHEN THEIR POSITION THERE. MOOSE AND
JOURNIAC AGREED ZAIRE-ANGOLA RAPPROCHEMENT SHOULD BE
ENCOURAGED. IT WOULD BE USEFUL IF OAU SUMMIT ENDORSED
BRAZZAVILLE AGREEMENT. JOURNIAC SAID U.S. AND FRANCE
COULD OBLIGE MOBUTU TO STOP AIDING FNLA AND FLEC IN ORDER
IMPROVE CHANCES FOR RECONCILIATION. SAVIMBI, HOWEVER,
"SHOULD NOT BE DROPPED COMPLETELY," JOURNIAC SAID, HE
IS AN EXTRAORDINARY PERSON AND LEADER WITH A ROLE TO
PLAY IN ANGOLA AT SOME TIME. WEST SHOULD KEEP THE
PRESSURE ON MOBUTU FOR REFORMS. MOBUTU--DESPITE COM-
PLAINTS--PROBABLY NOT AVERSE TO THIS AS IT ENABLES HIM
BLAME THE FOREIGNERS FOR REFUSING FAVORS TO HIS FAMILY.
JOURNIAC ACKNOWLEDGED MOBUTU TRYING PLAY THE FRENCH OFF

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AGAINST THE BELGIANS, BUT AGREED WITH MOOSE THAT WESTERN
AID DONORS MUST STAND UNITED AGAINST ATTEMPTS DIVIDE
THEM.

ON THE SAHARA, JOURNIAC SAID HE SAW NO IMMEDIATE ROLE
FOR FRANCE AS IT LACKS STANDING WITH ALL THE PARTIES AS
AN INTERESTED PARTY BUT SAID FRANCE WILL BECOME MORE

ACTIVE WHEN SITUATION HAS MATURED FURTHER. THE GIRM
FACES A DELICATE SITUATION IN ATTEMPTING GET OUT OF THE
WAR. WITH NINE THOUSAND TROOPS IN MAURITANIA, MOROCCO
IS IN A POSITION TO BLOCK A SETTLEMENT IT OPPOSES.
LATEST JALOUD VISIT TO PARIS HAD BROUGHT NO BREAK-
THROUGH IN CHAD NEGOTIATIONS. QADHAFI'S AIM IS A REGIME
IN NDJAMENA HE CONTROLS WHICH MAKES NEGOTIATING AN
ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT DIFFICULT. QADHAFI IS NOT LIKED
BY MOST AFRICAN LEADERS--THOUGH DO NOT CRITICIZE HIM
FOR FEAR OF REPRISAL--SO HE WILL PROBABLY NOT HEAT UP
THE SITUATION IN CHAD UNTIL AFTER THE KHARTOUM SUMMIT.
THE SITUATION IN THE HORN CONTINUES TO BE A FRENCH
PREOCCUPATION. JOURNIAC SAID THAT HE DID NOT THINK THE
WEST SHOULD LEAVE THE ERITREANS WITH ONLY THE SOVIETS
TO TALK TO. THE ETHIOPIANS APPEAR UNABLE TO CRUSH THE
INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT. SOME ERITREAN POLITICAL ENTITY
LIKELY TO EMERGE AND THE WEST SHOULD BE IN A POSITION
TO DEAL WITH IT WHEN IT DOES. END SUMMARY.

1. ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE MET WITH FRENCH PRESIDEN-
TIAL ADVISOR FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS, RENE JOURNIAC, AFTER-
NOON JULY 18 FOR GENERAL DISCUSSION OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS.

2. ANGOLA-ZAIRE: MOOSE SAID THAT HE HAD BEEN STRUCK
BY RECENT SERIES OF OPENINGS BY ANGOLA TOWARD THE WEST
AND WITH ZAIRE (E.G., HELPFUL POSITION ON NAMIBIA TALKS,
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DIALOGUE WITH THE U.S., DISARMING KATANGESE, ETC.) AND
ASKED HOW FRENCH VIEWED THESE ACTIONS. JOURNIAC SAID
THAT HE WAS NOT INCLINED TO TRUST A LEADER SUCH AS NETO
WHO WAS KEPT IN POWER ONLY THROUGH THE PRESENCE OF
20,000 CUBANS AND RUSSIANS. NETO'S MORE OPEN POSTURE DIID
NOT MEAN ANY SUDDEN CONVERSION TO LIBERALISM. THE
DEVELOPMENTS WERE SIGNIFICANT BUT REFLECTED ANGOLAN SELF-
INTEREST. THE STATE OF THE ANGOLAN ECONOMY IS
"CATASTROPHIC." SOVIET BLOC ASSISTANCE CANNOT BRING
ABOUT ANGOLAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT; THIS REQUIRES
WESTERN TECHNICAL AND ECONOMIC HELP AND NETO IS PREPARED
TO MODIFY HIS POLICIES TO OBTAIN IT. MOOSE ENQUIRED
WHETHER JOURNIAC THOUGHT THIS INDICATED SOME FREEDOM OF
ACTION VIS-A-VIS THE CUBANS AND THE SOVIETS. JOURNIAC
SAID HE DID NOT BELIEVE SO; RATHER THESE ACTIONS HAVE THE
SUPPORT OF THE SOVIETS WHO ARE CONTENT TO SEE ANGOLA
ASSISTED IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT BY THE WEST SO LONG AS
THEIR POLITICAL CONTROL IS NOT THREATENED. JOURNIAC
SAID THAT THE WEST SHOULD TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE OPPOR-

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TUNITY TO IMPROVE ITS POSITION IN ANGOLA, BUT SHOULD DO SO WITHOUT THE EXPECTATION THAT IT WILL BE DIRECTLY AT THE EXPENSE OF THE SOVIET POSITION. (IN A SUBSEQUENT MEETING AT THE FOREIGN MINISTRY, MOOSE WAS TOLD THAT FRENCH ANGOLAN RELATIONS ARE STRAINED OVER THE QUESTION OF FRENCH SUPPORT FOR SAVIMBI. THE GOF HAS TOLD THE GOA THAT IT IS PREPARED TO NOMINATE A RESIDENT AMBASSADOR IF THE GOA WILL GIVE ASSURANCES THAT THE REQUEST FOR AGREEMENT WILL BE PROMPTLY ACTED UPON. THE GOF WILL NOT INSIST UPON A RESIDENT AMBASSADOR BEING ASSIGNED TO PARIS.)

3. ON THE SUBJECT OF EASING ANGOLAN-ZAIRIAN TENSIONS, MOOSE SAID THAT HE FOUND THE PRELIMINARY REPORTS OF THE BRAZZAVILLE MEETING TO BE ENCOURAGING. JOURNIAC AGREED WITH RESERVATIONS. HE SAID THAT AN ACCORD BETWEEN "THE ADMIRAL OF THE ZAIRIAN FLOTILLA" AND A LITTLE-KNOWN ANGOLAN POLITICAL PERSONALITY WOULD HAVE NO SIGNIFICANCE IF IT WAS NOT ENDORSED AND ACTED UPON BY MOBUTU AND NETO. HE THOUGHT THAT THIS LATEST AGREEMENT MIGHT IN FACT LEAD TO SOMETHING BECAUSE IT WAS SO CLEARLY IN THE INTEREST OF THE TWO COUNTRIES. EACH GOVERNMENT IS THREATENED BY DISSENTS SUPPORTED BY THE OTHER. JOURNIAC SAID THAT THE WEST SHOULD ENCOURAGE

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THE RAPPROCHEMENT, AMONG OTHER REASONS BECAUSE WE DO NOT WISH TO BE FACED WITH SHABA III NEXT YEAR. HE AGREED WITH MOOSE THAT IT WOULD BE A POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT IF THE BRAZZAVILLE ACCORD WERE TO BE ENDORSED BY THE OAU SUMMIT MEETING.

4. ON THE QUESTION OF AID TO ANGOLAN DISSIDENTS, JOURNIAC AGREED THAT ZAIRE MUST STOP HELPING FLEC AND THE FNLA. THESE GROUPS ARE NOT NOW SERIOUS FROM THE MILITARY STANDPOINT AND SEEM MORE INTERESTED IN MONEY. THE U.S. AND FRANCE SHOULD PRESSURE MOBUTU TO STOP AIDING THESE GROUPS AND ARE IN A POSITION TO OBLIGE HIM TO DO SO. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION JOURNIAC SAID THAT SAVIMBI IS IN A DIFFERENT CATEGORY; HE SHOULD NOT BE DROPPED, AT LEAST NOT COMPLETELY. HE SHOULD BE PERSUADED TO CONFINE HIS ACTIVITIES TO THE SOUTHERN PART OF ANGOLA. AID GIVEN TO HIM SHOULD BE DECREASED AND GIVEN MORE DISCREETLY. (HE SUGGESTED IT COULD BE BETTER FUNNELLED THROUGH SOUTH AFRICA THAN ZAIRE.) JOURNIAC JUSTIFIED THIS POSITION ON THE GROUNDS THAT SAVIMBI IS AN EXTREMELY ABLE LEADER OF A TYPE ALL TOO RARE IN THE WORLD AND RARER STILL IN AFRICA. HE HAS A ROLE TO PLAY IN THE POLITICS OF ANGOLA AT SOME TIME AND SHOULD BE KEPT AVAILABLE UNTIL THAT TIME ARRIVES.

5. ON THE SUBJECT OF ZAIRIAN INTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS, MOOSE SAID THAT WE WERE SOMEWHAT ENCOURAGED BY THE STEPS WHICH MOBUTU HAD TAKEN SO FAR AND INTENDED TO PERSIST IN OUR POSITION THAT U.S. AID WILL BE DIRECTLY RELATED TO HIS PERFORMANCE ON REFORMS. JOURNIAC SAID THAT THE WESTERN AID DONORS SHOULD KEEP THE PRESSURE ON MOBUTU. DESPITE HIS GRUMBLING, HE MIGHT NOT BE AVERSE TO THIS PRESSURE. MOBUTU IS A TRADITIONAL AFRICAN
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LEADER AND AS SUCH CANNOT SAY NO TO HIS OWN FAMILY WHEN THEY ASK FAVORS. TO DO SO WOULD INVOLVE LOSS OF STATUS AND WEAKEN HIS POSITION. AS STEPS ARE TAKEN TO TIGHTEN UP THE ZAIRIAN ADMINISTRATION HE COULD FIND IT USEFUL TO BE ABLE TO BLAME THE FOREIGNERS WHEN FAVORS ARE REFUSED. AS FOR MOBUTU'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS REFORM, JOURNIAC THINKS HE IS REALLY QUITE MALLEABLE. THE PROBLEM HAS NOT BEEN IN GETTING MOBUTU TO AGREE TO ECONOMIC REFORMS, BUT RATHER HAS COME IN THE IMPLEMENTATION. THE BLAME FOR THIS LIES LESS WITH MOBUTU THAN IN THE LACK OF QUALIFIED PERSONNEL AVAILABLE. IT IS THEREFORE IMPORTANT THAT THE PROPERLY QUALIFIED PEOPLE BE FOUND AND SENT TO ZAIRE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. JOURNIAC AGREED WITH MOOSE THAT IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO KEEP PRESSURE ON THE IMF TO SEND THE CENTRAL BANK EXPERT WITHOUT

DELAY, HOPEFULLY BY

6. CONCERNING ZAIRIAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, JOURNIAC COMMENTED THAT ALL THE WEST CAN DO OVER THE SHORT TERM IS TO GET THE FAIRLY RESTRICTED MODERN SECTOR OF THE ZAIRE ECONOMY MOVING AGAIN (MINING, TRANSPORTATION, AND LIGHT INDUSTRY). THIS CAN BE DONE FAIRLY QUICKLY BUT WILL REQUIRE GETTING EXPATRIATE EXPERTS BACK IN THE COUNTRY. MORE BASIC DEVELOPMENT WILL COME SLOWLY. MOOSE SAID THAT HE UNDERSTOOD THAT MOBUTU HAD PUT A FREEZE ON INVITING ANY OF THE EVACUATED BELGIAN EXPERTS BACK INTO THE COUNTRY. JOURNIAC SAID THAT THE FREEZE

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APPLIES TO ALL FOREIGNERS, INCLUDING THE FRENCH. MOOSE SAID HE HAD ALSO HEARD THAT MOBUTU WAS TRYING TO PLAY THE FRENCH OFF AGAINST THE BELGIANS TO HIS OWN ADVANTAGE. JOURNIAC ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THIS WAS THE CASE. THE BELGIANS HAD ANTAGONIZED MOBUTU IN THE PAST BY USING THEIR POSITION AT GECAMINES TO EXERT POLITICAL PRESSURE ON MOBUTU. ALL OF THE FORMER EMPLOYEES OF GECAMINES IN SHABA, BELGIAN AND OTHER, MUST BE TREATED FAIRLY. THOSE WHO ARE NOT REHIRED SHOULD BE PROPERLY INDEMNIFIED. WITHOUT FURTHER SUBSTANTIVE COMMENT ON THE QUESTION OF REPLACING BELGIANS WITH FRENCHMEN AT THE MINES, JOURNIAC AGREED WITH MOOSE THAT THE WESTERN AID DONOR COUNTRIES SHOULD STAND TOGETHER AND NOT LET MOBUTU PLAY THEM OFF AGAINST EACH OTHER.

7. MAURITANIA AND THE SAHARA: TURNING TO THE QUESTION OF THE MAURITANIAN COUP AND THE PROSPECTS FOR A PEACE SETTLEMENT, MOOSE INFORMED JOURNIAC OF THE DESIRE EXPRESSED TO US BY THE NEW MAURITANIAN LEADERSHIP TO FIND A WAY TO END THE WAR. JOURNIAC SAID THAT THE MAURITANIAN LEADERSHIP HAD SPOKEN IN A SIMILAR VEIN TO THE GOF. HE HAD THAT MORNING RECEIVED AN EMISSARY OF THE GIRM. THE GIRM FACES A DELICATE PROBLEM, PARTICULARLY IN ITS RELATIONS WITH MOROCCO. A WILLINGNESS TO GIVE UP THE
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MAURITANIAN PORTION OF THE FORMER SPANISH SAHARA MIGHT MAKE SENSE FROM THE MAURITANIAN POINT OF VIEW BUT IS NOT LIKELY TO BE WELL-RECEIVED BY MOROCCO. WITH NINE THOUSAND TROOPS IN MAURITANIA THEY ARE IN A POSITION TO CONTROL THE SITUATION. JOURNIAC SAID THAT FRANCE DOES NOT HAVE A RECOGNIZED STANDING IN THE MATTER WHICH WOULD PERMIT IT TO BECOME INVOLVED NOW IN WORKING TOWARDS A SETTLEMENT. MAURITANIA MUST TAKE THE FIRST STEPS AND FRANCE WILL BE PREPARED TO PLAY A ROLE LATER. AT THE PRESENT TIME IT IS DIFFICULT TO VISUALIZE THE OUTLINES OF A SETTLEMENT. ALGERIA MIGHT REGARD THE ESTABLISHMENT OF EVEN A RUMP POLISARIO STATE AS A VICTORY FOR ITS POSITION AND THEREFORE THE BASIS OF A SETTLEMENT, BUT IT IS DIFFICULT TO IMAGINE MOROCCO ACCEPTING. IT COULD CERTAINLY NOT AGREE TO A POLISARIO STATE HAVING A FRONTIER BORDERING ALGERIA AND STRETCHING ACROSS TO THE ATLANTIC. HE SAID A SAHARAN PEACE SETTLEMENT HAD NOT BEEN SPECIFICALLY DISCUSSED WITH BOUTEFLIKA IN PARIS LAST WEEK.

8. JOURNIAC SAID HE HAD HAD NO FOREKNOWLEDGE OF THE MAURITANIAN COUP, BUT THAT HE HAD NOT FOUND IT SURPRISING. HE HAD TOLD MOKTAR OULD DADDAH THAT IN CREATING AN ARMY TO CARRY OUT HIS POLICY OF ANNEXING A PORTION OF THE FORMER SPANISH SAHARA HE WAS ALSO CREATING A DANGER TO HIMSELF. IN ADMINISTERING A COUNTRY AT PEACE MOKTAR WAS ABLE TO DRAW PRIMARILY FROM HIS OWN TRIBAL GROUP FOR THE TOP LEADERSHIP. WHEN IT CAME TO BUILDING AN ARMY TO FIGHT FOR HIS POLICIES HE WAS OBLIGED TO GO TO OTHER TRIBAL GROUPS. IT WAS ONLY A MATTER OF TIME BEFORE THIS NEW MILITARY LEADERSHIP BEGAN TO QUESTION WHY IT WAS RUNNING THE COUNTRY. DESPITE HIS ERROR IN PURSUING AN ESSENTIALLY PERSONAL POLICY IN REGARD TO THE SAHARA,
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MOKTAR WILL BE MISSED AS A LEADER. HE IS WELL-KNOWN AND RESPECTED IN THE ARAB WORLD AND IN AFRICA WHILE THE NEW LEADERSHIP IS VIRTUALLY UNKNOWN.

9. CHAD: JOURNIAC SAID THAT THE CHAD SITUATION HAD BEEN TEMPORARILY STABILIZED BUT THAT NO SOLUTION WAS IN SIGHT. JALLOUD'S LATEST TRIP TO PARIS HAD NOT PRODUCED A BREAKTHROUGH. QADHAFI CLAIMS THAT HE ONLY WANTS TO SEE THAT MUSLIMS GET A FAIR DEAL IN CHAD. HIS REAL AIM IS TO ESTABLISH A REGIME IN NDJAMENA WHICH HE CONTROLS. THIS DOES NOT LEAVE MUCH ROOM FOR NEGOTIATING AN ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT. THE SITUATION SHOULD REMAIN CALM UNTIL AFTER THE KHARTOUM SUMMIT. QADHAFI IS NOT LIKED BY MOST AFRICAN LEADERS AND HE DOES NOT WISH TO ATTRACT THEIR IRE AT KHARTOUM. HE HAS THE MONEY AND THE WILL TO MEDDLE IN THE AFFAIRS OF COUNTRIES THAT OPPOSE HIM AND HE IS THEREFORE GENERALLY ABLE TO AVOID CRITICISM OUT OF FEAR. IT IS FORTUNATE THAT DESPITE HIS FINANCIAL POWER HE LACKS THE PEOPLE TO CARRY OUT HIS DESIGNS. HE CANNOT EFFECTIVELY INTERFERE IN SEVERAL PLACES AT A TIME BECAUSE OF THIS LIMITATION.

10. THE HORN: JOURNIAC SAID THAT WHILE THERE IS NOW RELATIVE CALM THE DRAMA ON THE HORN IS FAR FROM PLAYED OUT. SIAD BARRE CONTINUES TO AID THE REBELS IN THE OGADEN AND IN FACT IT IS IMPOSSIBLE THAT HE OR ANY OTHER LIKELY LEADER COULD ABANDON THE REGION COMPLETELY; THE

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RULERS OF SOMALIA HAVE TRADITIONALLY HAD THEIR ROOTS IN THE OGADEN AND MAINTAIN STRONG FAMILY TIES THERE. MOOSE AGREED THAT IT WAS UNREALISTIC TO EXPECT SOMALIA TO SEVE ALL TIES WITH THE OGADEN BUT THAT WE HAD HOPED SIAD WOULD DECIDE TO CONTROL THE CONFLICT AND KEEP IT AT A LOW LEVEL. ON THE CONTRARY, DURING A NATIONAL DAY SPEECH HE PROMISED INCREASED AID TO THE INSURGENTS. UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES WE HAD DECIDED TO POSTPONE SENDING A MILITARY MISSION TO SOMALIA.

11. JOURNIAC SAID THAT DURING HIS RECENT VISIT TO PARIS SIAD BARRE HAD STATED THAT THE SOVIETS ARE PREPARED TO SUPPORT THE CREATION OF AN INDEPENDENT MARXIST ERITREAN STATE. JOURNIAC FOUND THIS MOST UNLIKELY. HOWEVER, THE ERITREAN PROBLEM WAS GOING TO BE WITH US FOR A LONG TIME AND HE DID NOT BELIEVE IT WISE FOR THE WEST TO LEAVE THE ERITREANS "FACE-A-FACE" WITH THE RUSSIANS. THE MOST IMPORTANT ERITREAN MOVEMENTS PRETEND TO BE MARXIST BUT THIS IS LARGELY A FANTASY. THEY ARE PRIMARILY NATIONALISTIC THE ETHIOPIANS DO NOT HAVE THE MEANS OF CRUSHING THEM AND THE SOVIETS AND CUBANS DO NOT SEEM INCLINED TO DO IT FOR THEM. AS A CONSEQUENCE THERE IS AT SOME TIME LIKELY TO BE AN ERITREAN POLITICAL ENTITY. THE WEST SHSOULD ENSURE THAT IT IS IN A POSITION TO HAVE SOME INFLUENCE
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